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Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in.

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information.

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance.

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This

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114 made it hard for novices like ourselves to walk from hamlet
[133] to hamlet and therefore practically impossible to keep in touch with all daily happenings in the tribe. To visit the gardens which were on the edge of the tribe's territory was
[124] for us a day's task. For this reason most of our data were gathered from members of the hamlet in which we lived.[20]

122 The language barrier presented a considerable difficulty.
124 Luckily, shortly before we arrived, a dozen or so of the younger natives had returned from working on European plantations or in the gold fields and could therefore speak pidgin English. We set about mastering this language and at the end of two months could speak it fluently. Although most of our information was obtained through this medium, we undertook also to learn the native language and by the end of a few months were able to speak it haltingly and understand everyday conversation. By the time I left, seven months after arrival, I was able to carry on an extended conversation, still haltingly, but well enough to exchange ideas and obtain information on the less recondite subjects.

128 On returning to New Haven I presented an analysis and description of the material gathered at Kwoma as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. During 1938–39 a fellowship from the Institute of Human Relations enabled me to study stimulus-response psychology under Professor Clark Hull. The knowledge of learning theory gained from him and from Drs. Neal E. Miller and O. H. Mowrer seemed to me crucial for the development of an adequate theory of socialization; consequently as a member of the Institute staff I reanalyzed my data in the light of this theory and am here presenting the results. I have been much helped by suggestions from my colleagues, particularly Professors Dollard, Murdock, and Miller. Since I had little knowledge of learning theory before going into the field, crucial data were frequently not gathered, an unfortunate but unavoidable circumstance. It is hoped, how-

[20] The rôles which we played in the tribe and hamlet will be described in detail in the first chapter, as well as the informants from whom most of our material was gathered.

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621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[361] [156] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- • [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

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him. As a result, none of my Kwoma friends would speak to me or bid me good-by.

In so far as we were included in the social structure of the Kwoma, we were known as *masta bilong Rumbima*. This meant that we belonged to the Rumbima hamlet of Hongwam subtribe, a natural consequence of the position of our house and the frequency of our contacts with Rumbima people. We were also placed in the kinship structure, being assigned to the Hayamakwo sib, Mangwiyow lineage, and Asanamp family line as younger brothers of Wof. Logically this should have made us *older brothers* to everyone else of the parent generation in the hamlet, but actually we were called *younger brother* by most of them. Those of the first descending generation called us *elder* or *younger uncle*, except Mey, Gwiyap, and Mar who frequently called us *father*. The fact that we were not married, but were apparently older than any unmarried Kwoma should be, made our position in the maturation hierarchy somewhat anomalous. We were sometimes classed as adults and sometimes as adolescents. The latter tendency was accentuated by the fact that we did not know the culture but were learning it.

With this short account of the environment and of the various groups into which the Kwoma divide themselves, with this indication of our chief informants and brief description of our position in Kwoma society, the task of describing the habits which a Kwoma learns as he passes from stage to stage along his life cycle may now be undertaken. The framework presented in this chapter has but limited meaning for the infant, more for the child, and gains full significance only when adulthood is reached. The following chapters are an attempt to present the culture as it unfolds to the maturing individual at Kwoma.

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [154] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sek*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sek* may be related to the verb *seka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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he had had sexual experiences, but feared punishment or disapproval if he confessed, so I told him that boys of his age in America had intercourse and cited several examples. He was much interested, and asked if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him that the boys kept it a secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that Americans had a means of preventing pregnancy. He expressed his amazement at this, and the subject was dropped. The next night, however, when we were discussing other matters, he brought up the subject again and mentioned six girls, three of them his *sisters*, with whom he claimed to have had sexual relations. One of them was Awa, Mar's sister. He recounted his experiences with great gusto, but warned me not to tell Mar about them, especially about his affair with Awa.

About two months later Gwiyap appeared with his hair combed and a new laplap around his waist and told me that he had a date that afternoon with Famba, a girl of his own generation and lineage, whom he addressed as *sister*. After playing ball for a while with some of the other boys, he departed. That evening I asked him how he had fared. He answered that his "shitnothing" *brother*, Fit, had followed him to the tryst. He had told him not to come and finally had chased him back with a stick, but when he finally met Famba he had not dared do anything because he was afraid that Fit had sneaked after him and was spying.

Two weeks later while I was sitting with Gwiyap in front of my house, Kwiya came by carrying firewood. She was a girl of about the same age as Gwiyap who lived in the same house and belonged to the same lineage. As she passed he exchanged bawdy remarks with her, as is the custom between *brother* and *sister*. Then he said to me that he thought he would go to America with me when I left because so many girls liked him and asked him to cohabit with them that he would certainly get in trouble if he stayed at Kwoma. He then recounted his sexual experiences. There was Kwiya, the girl who had just passed, and Awa, Mar's sister, both of whom were his household mates. Then there was Famba,

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[16] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[17] Later in the evening I asked him if

[16] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[17] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta. When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister nothing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on" to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing."[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[18] *Sumwe sumwe mowo*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowo sakano*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest. "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
• [124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
[593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[28]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[764] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[28] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 137–8.

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk.

[595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

● 124 [622] [648] [141] [614] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus luluai (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

I noticed some spears
353 on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest
411 and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but
[239] used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance.
586 The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had
[721] stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly
[126] swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

124 evidence that it formerly existed; marriage--matrilocal, with gift of shells from boy's family to girl's; residence after marriage--patrilocal; and enough on language to enable us to understand vaguely what the old men are saying as they sit around the fire.

115 [648] Yesterday, a Mr. Eve came to Washuk. He is a surveyor for "Oil Search" Ltd. and has been all through the country between the Sepik and the Dutch border except for one little corner. Most of this country hasn't been traversed by anyone but him, and we spent a most interesting afternoon with him. He has made incidental anthropological notes as he passed through - such as house form, village arrangement and size, clothing, etc. He has all the names of the native villages in this area that he has seen (I guess he had not missed many), and he is going to let us make a rough copy of it this afternoon, and tell us what he knows about the vill ges at the same time. I should say that we were very much in luck to meet such a man. He had a lot to say about Thurnwald and admired his work very much. He said that he didn't get half the credit he deserved for his pioneering work. For instance, Champion and Karius only had to go eight miles (just over the limestone barrier) from the headwaters of the Fly to connect up with Thurnwald's work of years before, but they do not mention this. Another interesting thing that he has run across is a tribe in the interior which has a whistling language. Luckily he has two work boys from this place with him now, and I am going to see if I can get anything from them on their language and their tribe this afternoon while Tip works on the map.

DECEMBER 1. Mr. Eve stayed here three days and lived up to expectation. Tip made a copy of the map and got quite a few notes on the tribes that Eve had visited...enough to give a rough idea of where to go to future field workers. Had we met him before we settled here, I think we could

115 have made a better choice. I got some texts on the whistling language. It is a surprisingly well developed form of communication and as far as I can tell, independent of their spoken language. It consists of different combinations of three factors,--two tones and a stop. These can be spoken or shouted with a high tone, a low tone, and the glottal stop. It can be whistled, or, for very long distances, blown through a large open whistle of bamboo.

One of the most interesting things that Eve told us was evidences of Malay bird of paradise hunters in the area roughly west of a line drawn from here northward to the coast, and extending to the Dutch border. This is evidenced by the fact that the natives would come out and pantomime shooting a gun and using a ramrod, and would jabber to him a few words of Malay Pidgin. He checked up on its being Malay Pidgin by looking it up when on leave and learning enough so he was able to answer them on his next trip in. Another thing of interest is a homogeneous culture area about eight days march south of Aitape--very thickly populated, about eight-hundred to the village, very friendly, with food aplenty, and as yet untouched by recruiters, etc.

126 After Eve left, we worked on revising our phonemes. Our first rough attempt was not satisfactory. The one we have now is better, but still far from perfect. We also went over all the words we had collected, revised them and arranged them alphabetically in a loose leaf dictionary. We find that we have about four-hundred — not enough, and a particular paucity of verbs which are rather hard to get at. It is difficult to get texts because the [124] [123] myths are supposedly esoteric and only recently have people been willing to [196] tell us any. From this dictionary we have made, several interesting word configurations and a promise of more have appeared - for instance sugilewas

126 which seems to mean 'sacred' is the term for the ghosts of powerful men,
196 for the big masks on the alter at the "singsing", and is a special term of greeting meaning something like 'hail, powerful man' or perhaps more accurately it is a sort of cult shibboleth. Then there is sukwiyawé which is 'to dream' and sukwié which is the term for "singsing" and another term for the sacred masks. Since they translate dreaming into pidgin as "look im tamberuuk(ghosts)," there are seems to be some connection which may throw some interesting light on their theory of dreams. We have already noted that the subject of their dreams is almost universally dead people. Such a bias would have to be allowed for if any Freudian interpretation was attempted....Then there is the term wofu which means 'mother's brother's wife' and 'lungs'. This we can make no sense of except that the lungs are thought to be non-functional appurtenances.

124 This reminds me that a week or so ago, Kar, one of the most intelligent of the "savvy talks", came in and we got from him their knowledge of anatomy. (See Part III, Ethnophysiology)

114 To get back to the present, after we had finished the dictionary, there was a rainy spell. No informants came around, and we did not feel like sloshing around to look them up. Both of us were pretty low. We figured that we hadn't gotten anything worth while, and the chances of our doing so were pretty slim. We felt that the people were so scattered about that it was very difficult to observe anything like village life, let alone anything on our special projects. We even thought of moving to some other place - Yambon, for instance. We were not very serious about this, however, because it would not be worth while to lose what little we already had.

124 The only thing to break the monotony of the rainy days was a great deal of talk one evening down below at Wof's house. He is our nearest neighbor and his house is about forty or fifty yards down the hill. This talk kept
000 up long after they were settled for the night. It turned out the next

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sowbundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] here in a few days on his patrol.
[657]

• 124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term naremboy we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[264] yet know. Later on when one's naremboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwom. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on sib history I went over the mountain to Wenyabunkura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Bangus man written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tamberan by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered [124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Ear, of Rumbina, who has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very [123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangwiya, greets me cordially and dubs me naramboy. He sits on the ground just before his house. The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to [262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangwiya points out to me most of his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my [262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his ruwa (niece, in this case) a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst a hubub of advice from these men who are not taking part in the distribution, the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and [533] [534] semi-initiated boys run for the house tamberan to "fight the garamut" and blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

765 sorrow. Six gongs ranging in size from 4' to 10' to 12' are beaten with
533 tremendous vim. Each man has two strikers, one in either hand. With the
534 left they keep up a light and rapid beat while with the right they pound out the changes according to a prearranged score. From the discussions and hummings which go on before a round is played , I think that these may be made up on the spur of a new idea. The pair of flutes, on the other hand, plays duets which are stereotyped. Two duets that I have , rather simple ones, are said to represent the flying fox and a small white pigeon.

As for recording the garamut 'talk' and beating of the hand drums, we are at a loss as to how to record them. The rhythm seems like no rhythm at all and even when it is tapped out on a table we soon get lost in a mass of short, long and intermediate beats.

124 Our houseboys are serving as occasional informants so that we can get some sort of a comparative picture. John has done some work on language and I have a kinship system of sorts. The boys are not too long on memory but
114 their wives are better informed. We are going to Yambon for a few days just before Christmas to trace down various connections with that culture which we have come across here. There are three or four other places around and about which we hope to visit. We have a plan which might be valuable to other field workers who might consider coming to New Guinea. This is to gather all the information that we can about places and cultures of this section of the Territory where work could be done. Mr. Eve gave us a good start with all that he knew at first hand.

461 We find so far that it is well nigh impossible to make appointments with informants. This is not because the men are lazy and sit about all day-- on the contrary they strike us as being an exceedingly industrious people. Too much so for the arm chair field worker. But then it's all to the good to board them in their own dens if we can find them at home.

794 The word sugilawas which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through talking of it we found out that there are three (?, groups, or something) named yenengara, minjama, and nokwisugwi which are sugilawas "true" . These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have emblems, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively. How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the few cases we have it seems that if a man is in yenengara his first son will be minjama, his second yenengara, etc. But there also seems to be movement upwards as if they were based on age grades. Nokwisugwi seems to stand considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it. Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abagalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days. No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that it is a singsing for maris, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
123 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here. I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Gwiyap, Mey, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's narrowboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite alot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwan were
[124] friendly; Urambanji and Saseraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwan always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
[123] me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(wisepeju -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house temberan to Soubundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[357] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the nothing.
diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimwa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

● 124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mes' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[728] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

761 A man of Duwus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tamberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbina gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of nank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Gwiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Gwiyap's belt by playing with it. Gwiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Gwiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite a half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Mamoay came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their bones and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahak who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Mamoay beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Sowal Urambanjs of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 15, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

● 124 Tefokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent and that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanta, to get Mas's sister Uka down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uka to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him

124 against War if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be removed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Pit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [782] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Hviya and Awa were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. Hey was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. Hey was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Korissi to give to their sister (Ngusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Uhuiyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Hey's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chimawa took it, saying it was better so. Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Hey's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

000
501 Yatakampa and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mas and Mar went to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mas said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mas' persuasion.

123 I told May and Gwiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "gayaman along mi ol sain" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Gwiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Yanahwot and four others from Yaasan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information [124] from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Hongwom. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokalis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Gwiyap; his father was Siyowa who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their kwra and Afokalis said yes he is kwra to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Gwiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Gwiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but it would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his

581 been married to a man from Tuk. She had been lazy, and he had nemoad (beaten) her, and she had left him. Her father had died, and Afok was looking out for her. She stopped there for a while and then said she wanted to marry Mar and promised Afok that she would not be lazy, so she had brought her to Mar. She had been with him a long time (3 years).

123 524 Kum was playing this afternoon with May and began tapping him on the leg. I told him to hit hard. He did. May slapped him back with a newspaper, then challenged him to hit him again. I told him to (also), but he raised his hand and only brought it half way down, not striking him. He repeated this a couple of times and then began to kick him. May paid no attention, and the play stopped.

124 819 I tried to get the real ages of Kwiyokai, Awa, Gwiyap, Mar, etc. They did not know except that Awa was older than Kwiyokay; Gwiyap was older than May. May says he was the same age as Kum is now at the time of the police raid which would make him 12 or 13, and Gwiyap 14 or 15. Mar says he was the same as May when Awa was born, but I doubt it. This would make him 22; I think he is nearer 18.

Revision

Gwiyap just went down and asked Yawa. She said that Kaiuakai was older than he, that she was the same age as May who is also older than Gwiyap. This is surprising, for Gwiyap is not only larger but has a few sprouts of hair, whereas May has none. I asked them the reason for this, and they explained it was because May was afraid of scraping himself with nettles. I wonder if "Grilly" (Wof) has anything to do with it. Awa is the same age as Gwiyap, but is larger than he.

The situation at the time of the raid was this: May was 3, Gwiyap and Kamakan were 4--Mar and Fit were six. Therefore, their ages now are: Mey 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mes is the same age as Mar.

Chapter III

Case History- MAR

115 Mar is a tall and gangling lad of about 18 or 19 with a heavy moronic face. He gives the impression of not being very bright. He lives with his brothers and sisters in the house nearest mine while his mother lives in another a few feet away. She is an old woman, crippled so that she cannot walk, but with a keen awareness of what is going on and a sharp [583] tongue. With her lives Yawa who is Mar's fiancee. It is the custom for a girl to live with the family of her husband for several months before marriage. Yawa gives the appearance of being rather lazy and sullen.

Mar often comes to the house and is helpful in working with the language because of his patience but not because he can grasp a new idea very well. If he asks for something, one word of refusal is enough.--though in time this changed. Although unsatisfactory as an informant in many cases, he gave us the list of pronouns in the language very readily and with little prodding.

A joke is much funnier to Mar than to others. He harps back to something that has amused him long after the juice of the situation has been extracted by Owiyap and Hay.

[156] He seemed embarrassed because he did not attend the Minjama yam cult ceremony, and the reason was that most boys of his age are already members of both Yamama and Minjama, while he is only a member of the former.

October 24, 1936:

124 Yesterday we were asking Mar his genealogy. He said that he was engaged but that his fiancee was not good so he was going to get another one. He [114] said she was not strong and didn't work well. We have taken him on to help Hamb and Wisep, our non-Kwoma houseboys, by fetching water and firewood. He seems to be glad to do it. We sealed the bargain with a pipe and "lap lap."

October 28, 1936.

*115 • 124 [123] Owiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and Hay both began helping around the house, and since Hash is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Owiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a gamba (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Then we asked him to draw a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 593 Today we told Owiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Owiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Owiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Owiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Owiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were